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Identity of Edward Dorsey I



C. K. Bulkley



Joshua Edward E.D. Dorsey
Rich: Wollman

Seal from original will of Joshua Dorsey² 1687. In Hall of Records at Annapolis. Beneath is the witness signature of Edward Dorsey¹ from a Tod deed in the records of Lower Norfolk County at Portsmouth, Virginia.

IDENTITY OF EDWARD DORSEY I.

A New Approach to an Old Problem.

By CAROLINE KEMPER BULKLEY.

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I.

THE PROBLEM STATED.

The origin and English ancestry of Edward Dorsey continue to be a problem to genealogist and historian. A man who was the progenitor of a large and widespread clan, allied to the most important families in Maryland's early history, remains to his descendants a shadowy figure without a background. Tradition and much fallacy printed as fact have been accepted without investigation.

My first researches in the matter, following in the footsteps of others, proved to my mind that all given theories of origin were untenable. I studied English histories and heraldries, finding them all available in American libraries.¹ J. Watney's *Account of St. Osyth's Priory, Essex* (1871), Achille DeVille's *Chateau d'Arques* (Rouen, 1839), and Rev. J. N. Worsfold's *History of Haddelsey* (1894), were imported from England.

Since actual records of Edward Dorsey are lacking in England and America, my re-study approached the problem from the angle of names associated with the immigrant in this country. If the English residence of any one of his near neighbors who were landholders can be traced, there is still a chance of further light on the origin of Edward Dorsey.

No more fanciful nonsense was ever written about Shakespeare's second-best bed than that which has been woven around imagined connections of Edward Dorsey, the colonist. When my extensive reading had formed a background and standard

¹ The Library of Congress, Newberry Library, Chicago; the public libraries of St. Louis, St. Paul and Cincinnati, six university libraries and several historical society collections in America.

of judgment, recent research in Virginia archives and in the new Hall of Records at Annapolis, produced many documents of which photostats and certified copies furnish exact testimony. Comparing and correlating these with former results confirmed some conclusions and refuted others.

From the British Museum and the Society of Genealogists in London we learn that no general survey of the Darcie name or its variants has ever been made. The Irish branch has a set of charts which utterly ignores any British branches. A wide search in the Prerogative Court of Canterbury has provided wills in abundance, not elsewhere collected, which together with those printed in an early volume of the *Transactions*² of the Essex Archaeological Society, by its industrious secretary, Mr. H. W. King, furnish a very complete file of wills. A similar search for wills recorded in small London Courts was made by Mr. C. L. Ewen, and by myself in Annapolis.

Lists of immigrants rarely mention an actual home location, but if such a fact is given for one person of a group it may be a clue to another's "home town" or neighborhood. Headrights are a mixed blessing as to identification but, taken in connection with others, are often helpful. Seals are mainly wafers; few carry an impression and when they do, it is seldom heraldic.

This study of Dorsey is therefore based on the group with which he came or settled, and the reason for his coming is assumed to be a matter of trade which, at that time, was as basic in a man's life as kinship. These assumptions are not weakened by finding that little investigation has been made of the names selected from among his neighbors. It is none the less important historically to know that a certain group clung together in locating themselves in two places in Virginia and in the flight to Maryland, where they continued to be neighbors.

An exclusively religious motive for immigration is not found

² This file was found by Dr. Arthur Adams, librarian of Trinity College, in Yale University Library.

in Colonial history, except in Massachusetts. Modern historians accept "merchandizing" as the basic reason for American colonization. This is no new thesis and the aggrandizement of "freedom to worship God" long ago received a rather caustic commentary in William Robert Scott's *Joint Stock Companies* (p. 14).³

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Patents for superfluities ["luxuries" in our day] were censured by the House of Commons, such as gold and silver thread, playing cards, keeping of unlawful games . . .

Into the last category fell "Football," for which a "Tommy" Dorsey and a Bennett were gaoled at Uxbridge.

The playing card grant was the most obnoxious. It was a grant to Edmund Darcie, who had been given power from the Privy Council to search shops for cards that did not bear his seal. This Edmund was a merchant of Tangier, where he died; his heir was Captain Henry Darcie of London, and the witch-hunting justice, Brian Darcie, was Edmund's brother.

Such search-warrants were much abused; merchants in foreign trade who rather assumed the place of small ambassadors, not supported by the state, would not stand for such a law. The encouragement for the use of private capital and energy in foreign trade was explained in part by Sir Edwin Sandys when he advocated the establishment of the Virginia Company:

What else shall become of gentlemen's younger sons, who cannot live by arms when there are no wars, and learning preferments are common to all and mean? So that nothing remains for them save only *merchandise* . . . unless they turn serving men which is a poor inheritance.⁴

The introduction of the photostat is making history over; for documents read as wholes often tell, or lead to, a different story; further, the camera can not err. A long and broad perspective is essential to clear judgment of a great man. Of an unimportant one, we get no perspective unless we find him in a

³ State Papers, Dom. Elizabeth, CCLXXIX, 93 *Calendar*, 1601-1603, p. 46.

⁴ House of Lords *Journals*, 1604, I, p. 334.

group. This is very apparent in studying land grant locations in Virginia and the seating of those who went up into Maryland to escape old Governor Berkeley's persecutions, to which later reference will be made.

II.

THE SEVEN EDWARDS.

Authorities for pedigrees quoted here are heraldic charts, local histories, and wills in the Public Record Office, London; also Chancellor, Jacob, Dugdale and J. W. Clay. The wonderful chart of D'Arcy antiquarians of Ireland has been consulted in the editions of 1905, and 1920, extended to 1935, by Rev. E. P. P. C. Thompson of London. These charts date back to Regnvald (Rognvald), father of Rollo the Dane. On the basis of them Canon d'Arcy and the Primate of Ireland, the Lord Archbishop of Armagh, are members of the "Falaise Committee," founded to preserve the memory of William the Conqueror. This is the only French society known to me that is similar to our own organizations.

1. Thomas D'Arcy of Hornby, in his will of 1605, named a son Edward, who seems to fit the facts about an "absentee landlord," mentioned in Clay's *Extinct and Dormant Peerages* and Poulson's history of Holderness, county York. The record is of a petition from inhabitants of Freer-Stainforth "tenants of one Edward Darcy Esquyer who offered to sell us but houldeth yt at so unreasonable a price as wee are never able to pay and for that we are in choyce to purchase yt ourselves or to cheuse our landlord." No other record of this Darcy has ever been found.

Thomas of Hornby confuses the issue by having had three wives, two of whom were named Elizabeth, the other "Collubia." His second eldest and his youngest son were named Thomas, and two others bore the name of Edward, if we accept what has been printed in various books. His first wife, Elizabeth Conyers, had one son 'Mr. Conyers Darcy' as recorded by several writers, yet on her tombstone is inscribed "which Elizabeth had by the said Thomas

two sonnes and one daughter." One might reasonably assume that the wife's maiden name was given to the first son and the second eldest was "Thomas the Elder" of York, whose will (1653) shows that he also indulged in three wives. He had a son Richard, whose mother was Susan Foord (Foard); a Foard family were in Dorchester County, Maryland, with Richard Preston, in whose will Richard Darcy is mentioned as a kinsman. A Richard Darcy was a headright of Cornwallis and Mr. Secretary Lewger. A seal used by a Dorchester County Darcy in 1749 does *not* connect him with any specific branch of the family. Thomas Darcy of York had a son Edward by his third wife, but no birth date is to be found. It seems improbable, to say the least, that the last child of an old man dying in 1653 could have been born early enough to identify him as our immigrant.

2. Sir Arthur d'Arcy, Lord Lieutenant of the Tower and Captain of the Isle of Jersey, died in 1561. He was sent into the North to pacify the rebellion of Aske, for participation in which his own father had been beheaded. Sir Arthur had a son who became Sir Edward of Dartford in Kent, 1584-1612.
3. Sir Edward Darcy of Kent had a grandson Edward, 1610-1669, who was quite notorious. He could not have been the father of the man who came to America before 1642. This Edward left no male heirs, although records of him are numerous; notably in Public Record Office documents.
4. The twelve children of Conyers d'Arcy (see *supra*) are listed by Poulson, Dugdale and Clay, but not by Jacob. An Edward is given as born 1619/20, "died same year." This presented a possibility in case the death record were a mistake, but a search of Hornby records by the Rev. Mr. Beamish showed no record of such a babe.
5. Thomas of York (will 1653) had one son named Edward by his third wife Jane, but he is far outside the possible dates.

6. Burke's Irish Gentry, no longer considered an authority, gives to Nicholas of Platten (Corbettstown branch of the family) a son Edward, but the date is far too early for any connection whatsoever.
7. "Edward Darcie aged 13 in 1632 licensed to go to Bergen with his master" is recorded in Fothergill's Exchequer records.

It must be emphasized that the line of Edward in Kent ran out in heiresses, as did the whole English clan finally. The widow Blower of the Kentish branch turns up in Chancery suits, as second wife to Sir Edward of Dartford (see no. 3), a fact nowhere else chronicled.⁵ The College of Arms can produce records of Lady Elizabeth Barnes as administratrix of the estate of her father, Edward Darcy (1610-1669), but denies having any references to an emigrant of that name. In Essex the witch-hunting Brian D'Arcy is prominent in the story as a high Justice, and we have seen that his brother Edmund of London and Tangier comes to light in the playing card monopoly business.

But pursuing elusive Edwards, only the seventh, a boy of thirteen in the year 1632, appears as the possible immigrant. Whether he evolves into the Virginia-Maryland citizen or not, and whether his parentage and original home are ever known, he is the most intriguing of the seven. The possibilities are tangled with almost invisible clues which may be found in American records and which might mean everything or nothing.

It is unfortunate that John Camden Hotten decided arbitrarily what names to copy in *Persons of Quality* bound for the American Colonies, but Gerald Fothergill's publication of those omitted is a great help. He explains that it was easier to get a license to go abroad—that is, to the Low Countries—than to go to America direct. Many are licensed to go beyond seas, to cross to European ports, or to travel, who *may have* eventually reached our shores. Fothergill's lists contain many Virginia

⁵ Similarly, just one record has been found of the second marriage of Dame Mary d'Arcy to an Offley.

family names, but I have used a transcript, together with a reprint of the names in Hotten, to make clearer the names from the Exchequer Records of the King's Remembrancer, No. 16.

"Edward Darcie—lycensed April 18th 1632, aged thirteen, to go with his master Richard Gips to Berghen." ⁶

This Richard Gips (Gibbs) ⁷ made two other journeys with "2 servants," but Edward Darcie is not again mentioned. It is probable that Gibbs was of the family known to have been Copyholder tenant of Peet Hall at West Mersea, on the island between Colne and Blackwater Rivers. Peet Hall stood on the mainland connected by a Stroude (causeway) with the island and opposite was St. Osyth of the Essex Darcies. The estate was owned by Viscountess Savage, the persecuted recusant heiress of the last male of that line, Thomas, Lord D'arcie of Chiche-St. Osyth.

In histories of the Netherlands there are six Bergens described, with variable spelling, but among commercial towns is one Bergen "aproom" (for Op Zoom) which is used more than any other except the historic Flushing. This Bergen was on the river Zoom, a tributary of the Scheldt, twenty-seven miles from the river mouth, near to Middleborough and Zerrick Zeas.

The phrase "master" in the sailing list quoted, does not necessarily imply that the child Darcie was either servant, apprentice or page, since the precise designation would have been used, if known. Many wills bequeathed young sons to powerful kinsmen or close friends, to be in their care as "friends and servants." They were entitled to everything that could be done for their "advancement"—though education

⁶ Fothergill's publication of the lists began in the *Genealogist*, Vol. 23, and this entry is found on page 125 of that issue. Publication continued until Vol. 26, when it stopped abruptly, without explanation.

⁷ The only Richard Gips (Gyps) found in Annapolis records is a witness to the will of John Thurmer in Calvert County—a Bennett connection. A Howard-Wyatt boundary in Anne Arundel County speaks of "Nathaniel Gibbs' line," and slight references are found to a Nicholas Gibbs. A Lawrence will of 1684 names an Edward Gibbs as a brother-in-law, giving his mother's name as Mary Garner or Gardiner.

was much less important than "a place in the world" or "preferment." Going out into the world at thirteen, it should not surprise us that such a boy never learned to write, and among the early American colonists that was neither odd nor discreditable.

Having no date for an historical picture of Edward Dorsey of the 17th century, he is probably described fairly well in this picture of the youth of that period given by Quennell in a recent *History of Every Day Things*.

An eight-year-old wore for the winter a baize gown faced with fur; for high days he had a suit of ash colored satin, doublet, hose and stockings matching, as well as his silk garters, and Roses—doubtless rosettes. Add an embroidered girdle and a cloak of the same color trimmed with squirrel fur, and we have before our eyes a charming figure, further adorned with a taffeta pickadel, which was a large stiff collar fashionable in England at the time of James I. As an economic fact we are told that a typical boy wore out five pairs of shoes "in the yeare."

With the handicaps of the first colonists, no such gay little man could have landed in Virginia, nor can we confirm any mental picture of his founding a family almost in a wilderness. We must leave him setting forth one April day with his "master" toward the ripe culture of Holland. That he is the identical Edward Dorsey who later journeyed across a wide ocean to Virginia, we can not assert, but at all events he is the only one of the seven Edwards who can be fitted into the known chronology.

III.

THE SOJOURN IN VIRGINIA:

On the Western Branch of Elizabeth River.

The failure of direct references to establish the exact date of Edward Darcie's arrival in Virginia makes it imperative to consider the records of his known friends and neighbors. Morgan P. Robinson, the Secretary of the Virginia Historical

Society and State Archivist, has published exhaustive studies of the formation of counties, in which changes of name may be followed in chart form. Confusion of names is thus lessened and it is easier to follow the lines of the small area we are studying on the maps in Mrs. Nugent's wonderful work on early grants (*Cavaliers and Pioneers*).

For the present let us consider only the eight miles of Elizabeth River, with its Western Branch coming in north of Portsmouth and its Eastern Branch south of Norfolk. Any map shows clearly the Western Branch and the James River; between the two was one of the numerous creeks called Broad,⁸ and on this were located Matthew Howard and his wife Ann. In Nugent there is no further mention of Howard but Robert Taylor figures five times as a headright. According to printed records Taylor was on the Broad Creek a year before Matthew Howard, although Taylor's western boundary as recorded February 8, 1637, was Matthew Howard. In May, 1638, Howard's grant on the Western Branch of Elizabeth River is bounded north by the Broad Creek.

Below Howard and Taylor (from west to east) were seated Edward Lloyd, Richard Owen, and Cornelius Lloyd. Most illuminating is the fact that (1) Browne, (2) Fleetwood and (3) Wright were just below Cornelius Lloyd; to these three men Cornelius Lloyd assigned Edward Dorsey's name in three distinct grants. The assignment to Browne is quoted by Nimmo, those to Browne and Fleetwood are given in Greer, but we can scarcely consider these as primary. Wright also used his name, and Parrott, living near Bennett, used the names of several persons whose headrights are mentioned with Dorsey's in assignments.

The date at which a headright was presented in court with a demand for land, is apparently of little account, but what does

⁸ There were many creeks called Broad everywhere. On the north side of Western Branch, maps show three creeks and local historians say the name here should indicate that it was the broad creek of the three—*i. e.* the middle one, which is not more than three miles from the junction of the Western Branch with Elizabeth River proper.

matter is that headright names were generally those of close neighbors or of persons who had arrived together. Whatever the reason for this—it might be due to restricted means of communication—the fact is of real value in group study.

There are four assignments in which twenty-two names appear and the question is—who assigned them? Cornelius Lloyd? All the names are those of near neighbors and Lloyd demanded and received 8000 acres. If he brought *at one time* such a large number of headrights, the Land Office records should show the grant. It does not; therefore the grant is not in Mrs. Nugent's book. But it is found in the *Minutes of Lower Norfolk County Court*, under date of 15th December, 1642.

Because of the contiguity of these lands and people, it seems a reasonable inference that the majority were newcomers at about that date. The records of this locality⁹ for some ten years, when it was Lower Norfolk County (organized in 1637), were read for me three times and I have myself read them in the Virginia Historical Magazine, from a transcript made years ago by Judge John H. Porter, Commissioner in Chancery. In 1897 the *New England Historical and Genealogical Register*, Vol. 47) published Lea's "Headrights of Lower Norfolk County," in three sections, with many fine notes. These two printed lists preserve the *sixty numbered names* of Cornelius Lloyd's grant of 1642.¹⁰

When I first knew the record at Portsmouth, the latter part of Edward Dorsey's name was still legible—no. 16. Now three holes, shown in a tracing made at that time, have grown larger and nothing beyond no. 21 is visible at all. I owe to Mr. C. F. McIntosh, Mr. F. W. Sydnor of the State Library, and to Mrs. Bessie H. Ball, formerly of the clerk's office, the minute transcriptions which attest the fact that Cornelius Lloyd used Edward Dorsey's headright as early as December 15, 1642. But for these early copies this bit of essential evidence would be completely lost.

⁹ Prior to this date "burned when Bacon 'fired' Jamestown."—James City County records.

¹⁰ The actual grant of 8,000 acres he transferred to Captain John Sidney.

Internal evidence from the four assignments, the combination of grants and the use of the same names interchangeably, lead me to believe that Edward Dorsey was already in that locality, and with people whom he knew, before 1642. The known fact that Matthew Howard had with him "two persons unnamed" suggests the tantalizing possibility that one could have been Edward Dorsey. The date of the grants, 1637-1638, would make the boy of thirteen in the year 1632 about seventeen or eighteen at that time. He could legally hold land at the age of sixteen, but evidently he did not. Cornelius Lloyd's use of his name as a headright in 1642, when Edward Dorsey was twenty-three makes the suggestion rather doubtful, but not impossible.

Many of the associated names of neighbors appear in the passenger list of the *Globe* (see Hotten), but not Dorsey's, so that it is more than probable that he was even then with the persons to whom he and his family clung in all their wanderings for three generations—the Howards and the Owings (Owens). We have documentary proof that the Owens antedated 1637. True, this Richard Owen had no children, but he himself went to the second Howard-Dorsey settlement in Maryland.

It is at first confusing to find the name of William Julian as a landholder on both the Western and the Eastern branch of Elizabeth River. We are now considering only the Western branch, and Julian's first dividend was on the South side of James River toward Jordain's Journey, next to Taylor and Parker. Thus we have the group on the Western Branch composed of:

Julian, Taylor, Edward Lloyd,¹¹ Cornelius Lloyd, and Owen;
Ewen, Parker, Bennett, Mauldin, Brice;
Wright, Brown, Fleetwood, Parrott (next to Bennett);
Darcie as a headright only.

¹¹ Edward Lloyd's history is well known; he married (1) Alice Crouch, (2) Frances Watkins, (3) Grace Parker. Mauldin was the son of Grace Parker Lloyd. Owen we find as a witness of the will of John Watkins at the Chapel of Ease.

On the Eastern Branch of Elizabeth River.

William Julian, "antient planter," is shown by recorded grants to have acquired six hundred acres "on the South side of Eastern Branch of Elizabeth River containing three necks, one neck being on the Southward turning of said river." He sold two necks to Robert Taylor. On the back of this deed is the record of Taylor's sale of two hundred acres to Edward Dorsey.¹²

Thus emerges the actual title quoted by Mr. McIntosh.

The land lies on Ferry Point, once offered to the United States for a capital-site, and sometimes called Washington Point. Here is Edward Darcie's land, so close to the site of the Chapel of Ease that today it is spoken of as "ten minutes away," across the blue waters of the Eastern Branch.

Lower Norfolk County records, beginning in 1637, afford not only the first documentary proof of Darcie's location in America but evidence concerning a number of the neighbors and friends associated with him here and later in Maryland. Thomas Tod was one of these, a justice and vestryman of Elizabeth River Parish. Tod's first grant in 1637 was close to Julian's, Taylor's and Darcie's holdings, being defined as "On the South side of the Eastern branch of Elizabeth River about six miles from the mouth of *said branch*." This is measuring from the almost rectangular confluence of the Eastern and Southern branches opposite Portsmouth. Elizabeth River in itself is very short, encircling Lambert's Point (known as the "glebeland") and entering James Bay. Six miles from the mouth of "said branch" is therefore a well defined location. Nowhere else could there have been necks on the *south* side.

Thomas Tod had a second grant in 1638, "between Captain Thomas Willoughby and Captain Adam Thorogood" up to the back creek called Little Creek, including "a fresh water pond and an Indian field." On Thorowgood land is a house built in 1636, now being advertised for sale as "the oldest brick house

¹² Taylor's deed from Julian is in Lower Norfolk County records, Book B, page 127.

in America." On his land too stood an old church, its graveyard now lying under the waters of Lynnhaven River. Forrest says that a tall man, wading up to his chin, may feel the stones and decipher the inscriptions with his toes. The baptismal font and a pewter alms basin are still in use in the famous Old Donation church nearby.

Mr. R. D. Whichard has studied out the sites of four historic churches in this neighborhood and has presented me with the magnificent port map and a large city map of Norfolk. On the port map he has drawn an outline of what Julian's six hundred acres would cover; it closely approximates Thomas Tod's location "six miles from the mouth."

We meet the name of Edward Darcie in two other Norfolk County Court documents. One is a deed from John Browne¹³ to Darcie for cattle bought in 1642, hardly remarkable except that it raises the question of why Dorsey was said to be "transported" by Cornelius Lloyd, or at least his name used as a headright,—which rather implies coming at the charge of Lloyd—if he had means to buy land and plenish himself with cattle. The third document, in which he appears as a witness only, is a quit-claim title to Virginia land, executed by Thomas Tod¹⁴ in favor of James Sallard, Abraham Parrott and Alexander Hall. It is dated October 1649, on the eve of departing for Maryland. The Julian-Taylor-Dorsey deed is naturally the most important.

The date of the Lloyd grant of 1642 and the 1649 deeds of Tod and Brown prove that Edward Darcie was a resident of Elizabeth River Parish for seven years or more. If he is the boy aged thirteen in 1632, he was born in 1619, and it is quite possible that he might have come over in 1636, or even 1635, because a residence long enough to prove stability and intention to remain, was considered a prerequisite for colonists demanding headright land.

Thomas Tod was twenty-three at the time of his first grant

¹³ Lower Norfolk County records, Book A, part III, page 36.

¹⁴ Lower Norfolk County records, Book B, page 134.

in 1637—therefore born in 1614, as was Cornelius Lloyd according to his recorded age in 1642. These associations with men of about the same age are the only hints in Virginia of Dorsey's age. They indicate that he must have been born in the first quarter of the century, and not after 1625 as has been often asserted.¹⁵

Much feeling has been aroused over the title of "boatwright," used by and given to Dorsey. If we read historians on the motives for English colonization in America, we shall find that even the most conservative stress the production of naval stores as a strong incentive. Dutch supplies of this kind had been cut off from England and nowhere could more abundant materials be found for ship building and fitting than on the Norfolk peninsula.¹⁶

Dorsey's land lies on the point at the foot of what is now Chestnut Street and on it stand the ruins of the old Marine Hospital. Thomas Tod's land was near by: he was a justice and a church warden. His title in various documents is "Shipwright," and the records of Norfolk County Court show that he won a suit (September 10, 1642) against Colonel Francis Trafford¹⁷ for "work done upon a vessell belonging to said Trafford."

What more likely than that Edward Dorsey was in business with or for his near neighbor, who seems to have been a successful man of affairs in his day?

Across the river at Portsmouth, the United States shipyards proudly boast that they stand on the very site of the oldest colonial shipbuilding in America. The whole locality has a background of marine history, even though, like Dorsey himself, no early records remain to tell the whole story.

Virginia knew no more of Edward Dorsey after his migra-

¹⁵ The McIntosh list from records of affidavits does not include Dorsey.

¹⁶ Mr. W. F. Craven, in articles now running in the *William and Mary Quarterly*, says that England's need of naval stores was one of the paramount reasons for colonizing. Mr. Craven, formerly of New York University, is now at the College of William and Mary.

¹⁷ Trafford is a family name in the pedigree of Viscountess Savage.

tion to Maryland, but his land was never sold—at least there is no record of sale—and any who remembered him wondered what his fate had been. This doubt survives to the present day and the whole object of this study is to try and uncover traces of his life.

Thus on the Eastern branch of Elizabeth River, we have the following more or less allied group:

Darcie holding land next to Wollman and Tod; Wyatt, Claiborne and Edward Owen on land bought from Julian; opposite, surrounding the Chapel of Ease, Norwood, Watkins, Gaither *et al.*, all of whom moved to Maryland.

IV.

THE CHAPEL-OF-EASE.

The Chapel-of-Ease was built after 1638, ten miles south of the Parish Church of Elizabeth River; “twoward town,” though the settlement was not then named Norfolk. Its boundaries extended from Tanner’s Creek to the north side of the Eastern branch of Elizabeth River. The Parish of Elizabeth River was certainly established before any other south side county organization, though later it was divided along a line closely following the present Princess Anne boundary, and Lynnhaven Parish was set up.

The earliest settlers of Jamestown Island in 1607 were followed two years later by those who made the old Indian village of Kicoughtan into Hampton, the oldest settled spot of English speaking people still extant. To this town Benjamin Syms left money for the first free school in America (1634) and twenty-five years later Eaton carried further this public benefit. To this day there is a Syms-Eaton school in Hampton, its origin antedating by a year the ubiquitous Boston Latin School.

From Hampton the county name crossed the river James to Willoughby’s Point and what are now Norfolk and Princess Anne descend from Elizabeth City County, with an interval of about ten years as Lower Norfolk.

St. Paul’s Church in Norfolk City stands on the site of the

Chapel-of-Ease or Conventic'le (so written by an English clergyman of to-day). When Mr. Conway W. Sams ran out the chain of title to this church site, for the Altar Guild's *History of St. Paul's*, the first link of the Willoughby grant was described as on the north side of the Elizabeth River. John Watkins bought the land that became the site of St. Paul's and sold it to John Norwood. For our purpose we could easily rest on these two sales alone, but we have further evidence. John Norwood, being sheriff, was called into court to account for his stewardship of the "glebeland" on Lambert's Point. He was expected to lease it so that the income might support a minister, if and when they had one. The implied indictment of Norwood's business sense was completely quashed, and the vestry finally had to dispose of the land because it was too poor to farm. Many records exist regarding this squabble and the land is fully identified on Mr. Sams's map as Lambert's Point.

This John Norwood was akin to Governor Bennett and a neighbor of Dorsey at this time and later in Maryland, where the two were land partners. He was also sheriff in Maryland. His successor in Virginia was Richard Conquest. He it was who posted on the Chapel-of-Ease the summons to the "seditious sectuaries" to appear before the Court of October, 1649, to defend themselves for non-attendance at their parish Church.

Here we land in the midst of the red-hot controversy between old Governor Berkeley and the handful of Virginia Puritans; a controversy both political and religious that raged for about ten years. Before 1642 Richard Bennett,¹⁸ Hugh Brent, the Carters and Lawsons, living near Nansemond, had removed to the Indian country (Chickacoön), because of Berkeley's persecutions. The most conspicuous victim of the Puritan-baiting was Elder Durand, who is recorded as having a grant of 600 acres on the Rappahannock River, 4 November 1642—to which document is appended a later note: "This is voyd said Durand being a banished man and soe incapable of holding any land in this colony."

¹⁸ The Virginia Historical Commission has placed a marker at the Bennett location.

Major R. S. Thomas relates the story in Volumes IV and V of the *Virginia Magazine*. Sheriff Conquest, on May 6, 1648, heard William Durand preach to the people, "as he had done for three months." Conquest ordered the people to return home, which they would not do. He then attempted to arrest Durand, calling on Edward and Cornelius Lloyd to assist him, but they in fact released the preacher. Some months later Durand's property was attached to pay the costs "while he was the King's prisoner." His "servant" Thomas Marsh became security for him, and later, when Durand had left the country, Marsh paid the charges—which have been incorrectly reported as taxes, thus reflecting on the Elder's honesty.

Intolerant old Governor Berkeley went out of his way to harry this small band of non-conformists at the very time the Parliament of England, under the growing influence of Cromwell's power, had prohibited the use of the Book of Common Prayer. No swift news in those days, so that the so-called Puritans had to give bond to appear in court to defend themselves against charges of a misdemeanor which was none!

That the group we are considering, which followed Edward Lloyd into Maryland, were all Puritans is by no means proven. The arguments for this view of them have been mainly taken from a thesis of the late J. H. Latané, prepared years ago and evidently the work of a young student, probably for his first doctorate. Major Thomas and others among recent investigators deny that this party, taking its departure from the neighborhood of the Chapel-of-Ease, was all Puritan or that religious persecution was the main factor in their unrest and desire for change.

The general statement made by J. W. Warfield that the migrants to Maryland came from the neighborhood of Sewall's Point¹⁹ has been the cause of some confusion. It is quite true, but the disappearance of the shore line, under the Naval Base, and of the parish church that stood there, lead to misunder-

¹⁹ Curiously enough, this name remains as given to one of the biggest of piers, described in the latest Port circular and map.

standing. That was not the church of Edward Dorsey, Thomas Tod, Richard Wollman, John Norwood or John Watkins. Norfolk antiquarians are sure of the approximate location of Sewall's Point, and its parish church, but that location does not relate to the Conventic'le or Chapel-of-Ease, ten miles southward.

Below the Naval Base extends the Army Supply Base, on the North side of Lafayette River—this being the modern name for Tanner's Creek, because a creek can not benefit by legislation for rivers and harbors. On the Port Map radius lines, one mile apart, show Tanner's Creek to be within five miles of Norfolk centre, and Sewall's Point is in the eight miles radius. This verifies Warfield's estimate of the "neighborhood of Sewall's Point; it is about three miles square."

It is certain that land grants, court records, and incidental references prove that the group—whether Puritan or Church of England in religious sympathies—removed from the neighborhood that now lies about St. Paul's Church. This historic building was the only one standing after the town was destroyed by Lord Dunmore on New Year's Day, 1776. It is a landmark in itself of Revolutionary times; its site that of the Chapel-of-Ease built more than a century earlier.

V.

THE HEGIRA AND FIRST SETTLEMENT IN MARYLAND.

We have no details of the manner of exodus, and few dates to fix the time when the group we are following left Virginia or arrived in Maryland. Several students of the period have written on this obscure bit of religious and secular history, among them Dr. Ethan Allen, for years Historiographer of the Diocese of Maryland. In his history of Saint Anne's Parish, he says: "In 1649 . . . a company of emigrants from Virginia settled in the neighborhood and on the very ground in part, of what is now the city of Annapolis."

Dr. Allen accounted this company Puritans, but we now

know that not all were of this persuasion. He remarks also that they had sprung up in Virginia within six years and their preachers had been sent from Massachusetts on application from Mr. William Durand. Referring to Governor Berkeley's severity against the Puritans, Dr. Allen says the early laws were made "tho' there were as yet none there."

It has been said that Lord Baltimore's Governor for Maryland, Captain William Stone, invited these Virginians to come into Maryland. Their first settlement was at Greenberry Point, then called Town Neck. Eight persons took out patents—William Pell, George Saughier (Sapher) Robert Rockhould, William Penny, Christopher Oatley, Oliver Sprye, John Lordkin and Richard Bennett (Kilty's *Land Holder's Assistant*). The whole tract eventually passed to Richard Bennett alone and Town Neck, through many changes of title and ownership, finally became Greenberry Point, as it is today.

It is of record that warrants of survey (not patents) were issued to Elder Durand, Edward Lloyd and Samuel Withers. Though no subsequent records of patents granted are in the Land Office it does not discredit the fact, long known, that Edward Lloyd had the power to lay out and grant land to these persons. Many landholders of later years refer to surveys of 1650 and 1651, on which they based legal sale or purchase, although no such originals are on file.

All settlers of Maryland were required "to have taken an oath of fidelity to us & our heirs . . . to defend against all powers whatsoever," and it has been inferred that, because no patents are recorded for these Virginians, they refused that oath. That may be, since the pledge was binding on their descendants likewise, but a modified oath permitted the Puritans of Town Neck to send representatives to the House of Burgesses in 1651, which must have been about a year after they came.

This group of Bennett, Durand, Edward Lloyd and Samuel Withers, the avowed Puritans, is definitely placed on the north side of the Severn near Greenberry Point, almost opposite the Naval Academy. It is this settlement that is always referred

to as "*The Providence of Maryland*" in the documents of Edward Lloyd.

The much larger group in and around present-day Annapolis, includes names well-known to us from study of Virginia locations; especially Dorsey, Wyatt, Tod, Howard, and Norwood. So far as may be inferred from vague personal allusions, most of the group were Church of England, forming within a few years the Parish of St. Anne's.

Crossing the Severn to the south side, we run into Spa Creek, which was Tod's Creek in 1651, and Tod's Harbour covered what is called the Annapolis Peninsula, extending to one hundred acres within present limits of Annapolis. Thomas Tod brought from Virginia a tendency to spread himself wherever he lived and usually left legal records of his transactions. His confirmation of title to some Virginia land at the October Court of 1649 and his appearance in Maryland, seeking land warrants, at the Spring Court of 1650, are the guiding dates for the group heira. In fact he seems to have been resettled in Maryland within a month after leaving Virginia.

Thomas Tod's bounds were "the bayside on the east from Tod's Creek up to Deep Cove"—this being "Dorsey's Creek," lately rechristened St. John's College Creek. Thus we have Tod and Dorsey across the creek from each other, as the two of them had faced Norwood and Watkins across the Elizabeth River at the site of the Chapel-of-Ease. This same Norwood is here a next neighbor to Dorsey and Wyatt.

To complete the group picture of transplanted Virginians, we have Proctor's Landing, just below Tod's holdings, and Richard Acton just above him, with a Hall in the same neighborhood. Above Dorsey, Norwood and Wyatt, were Marsh, Howard and Hammond, in an apparently continuous "bloc," and Warfield and Gates to the west of them. These families became closely interlocked by the intermarriages of the second generation.

For lack of complete evidence, we can not read his title clear to Edward Dorsey's ownership of this property, but it is indisputable that he did possess it. The record in the Land

Office (Liber II, [Margin Liber G G] (98)) reads: "(125) Edward Dorsey assigns to George Yate 400 acres: Warrant XI November M. D. C. L. (1650); to Edward Dorsey for 200 acres of land the which he assigned away as followeth: as also 200 acres more part of a warrant for 400 acres granted John Norwood and Edward Dorsey dated xxiiij February M D C L i (1651); said Dorsey of County of Ann[sic] Arundell, Boatwright, consideration already received, all my right, title, interest, claim and demand of an—in a warrant for 200 acres of land bearing date sixteen hundred and fifty [so written out] and also to 200 acres more being the one half of a warrant for 400 acres, the one half belonging to Capt. Norwood bearing date one thousand six hundred fifty one unto George Yate, etc."

The date of this assignment, duly signed and sealed, is April 23, 1667 and the witness is John Howard, eldest son of the Virginia Matthew and Ann Howard. A year later (August 24, 1668) there is a deed filed from Yate to Dorsey for sixty-eight acres of the above "Dorsey" tract. In the same year one James Connaway assigned back the "right for 1000 acres" to George Yate, who transfers sixty acres to "Darsy." George Yate was deputy surveyor and the sixty acres "called Dorsey" are described as "beginning at a bounded pine upon a point" and running up the Severn to "a Coave called Freeman's up said cove to the line of the land of Capt. John Norwood," etc.

All these transactions of 1667 and 1668, together with the fact that Edward Lloyd's grants, assignments, or whatever they were called, are not on record anywhere, raise many questions. It is contended that the Edward Dorsey who signed the records of 1667-1668 may have been the son Edward. This is highly improbable, since Edward Dorsey the younger could not have had land in his own right from warrants cited of 1650 and 1651, nor did *he* ever name himself as "boatwright" in the documents known to bear his signature.

Those who deny that the record quoted was signed by Edward Dorsey, Senior, argue from the story many times repeated that he was drowned in 1659. No evidence has ever been produced to prove this: there is an authentic record of an Edward Dorsey

who was drowned, but who the person was, or whether the name may be mistakenly recorded cannot be determined.

It is clear that the signer of the 1667-1668 deeds was the father Edward Dorsey, and as further testimony that he was alive after 1659 is a document assigning land—the Bush-Manning tract—bought by “my father Edward Dorsey from Thomas Marsh in 1661.” This same land is later confirmed to Manning in a warrant and power of attorney to Sheriff Stockett from Colonel Edward Dorsey, the son, giving these facts.

At all events the property “called Dorsey” remained in the family after 1668 and until Margaret Larkin, the second wife of Colonel Edward Dorsey, and *her* second husband, John Israel, sold it to William Bladen in 1706. It figures in Bladen’s long rent roll and the title passed to the United States (from Reese and wife) in 1867, under the name of “Strawberry Hill Farm” or Dorsey Enlarged, meaning that the tract comprised sixty-seven acres.

The site of the original Naval Academy was bought by the Army in 1808 and used as Fort Severn until 1848, when it was transferred to the Navy. The section including Bluff Point or Cemetery Point, which was a part of the Dorsey tract, is only nineteen years younger than Tod’s Harbor as the site of the Naval Academy. This is common knowledge in Annapolis, now proved by existing documents, but hitherto generally ignored by writers.

It is perhaps inevitable that historic towns should drop old names as they grow, but it is perplexing and annoying to the student of old times. Bloomsbury Square in Annapolis is an instance. The name was formerly given to a tract west of St. John’s College, which is now a region of mean houses. In its heyday it belonged to Colonel Edward Dorsey, presumably bought from Thomas Tod, but the deeds in proof of it were lost in a fire.

The Committee for the Restoration of Colonial Annapolis has prepared a map of the old sites and on this, Bloomsbury Square abuts at the southwest on the small circle where St.

Anne's Episcopal Church stands. The "town house" of Colonel Edward Dorsey is marked by a symbol signifying "not now in existence." The Daughters of the American Revolution marked with a bronze tablet a house called the Dorsey-Marchand-England house, at 211 Prince George Street. Mr. England has restored its lovely garden, which I greatly enjoyed on his invitation. The place is a private apartment house, not open to the public. Whatever its old relation to the Dorsey property, it seems too far from the known holdings of the family to be accepted as Colonel Dorsey's first town-house.

Mr. Trader, the Chief Clerk of the Land Office, has given deep and careful study to the documents in his charge and he concludes that what he marks as the Dorsey-Nicholson-Carpenter House, in which the first Maryland Assembly was held, is the first town residence of the Dorsey family. This conclusion is partly based on the knowledge that 211 Prince George's street is not the house where Governor Nicholson lived and held Assembly, which house is no longer standing. Another argument lies in the fact that the high-tempered, bachelor Governor lived in a tavern, specifically stated to have been a large house built for Colonel Edward Dorsey, and kept by Hester Gross, a widow Warman, whose menfolk had been prominent in official circles. She might well have been a tenant of Colonel Dorsey's house, since the families had always been near neighbors. She was of Catlyn ancestry from the settlement at Elizabeth River in Virginia.

An interesting sidelight comes from the fact that Governor Nicholson and Edward Dorsey II helped to establish King William's School, now St. John's College. The site of the latter is just across the way from the "house built for Colonel Dorsey"—that is, Hester's tavern.

The following summary of the first Maryland locations for the group under consideration is based upon the original patents or records for each family and is therefore proof beyond question.

Between Town Neck and Annapolis proper, *south* side of Severn, *north* side of Dorsey's Creek:

Dorsey and Norwood in partnership opposite Tod; Howard, Hammond, Wyatt, Warfield and Gates; then a tendency to move southwesterly below Tod, Acton and Hall to the vicinity now called South River.²⁰

VI.

SEALS.

Under the efficient direction of Dr. James A. Robertson, the large collection of original wills in the Maryland Hall of Records at Annapolis is being repaired and catalogued by the most modern methods. I have been able to examine a good many myself. The Dorsey wills up to 1762 number about forty, and of the seals attached to them only five bear impressions. By photostats and expert identification all that can be learned from them has come to light.

1. Caleb Dorsey (will dated 1742). The arms on this seal were identified for me by Mr. Stafford F. Potter as those of Gough. A decade later, in the will of Caleb's wife, a daughter Sophia is found as the wife of Thomas Gough. The seal is illustrated in *Anne Arundell Gentry*, by H. W. Newman (page 108); and in *Founders of Ridgely, Dorsey and Greenberry Families* (page 36), by Dr. Henry Ridgely Evans.

2. Madame Henrietta Maria Dorsey (will proved 1762). She was the daughter-in-law of Caleb and wife of Captain Edward Dorsey, who is called the attorney or counsellor. Madame Dorsey is described as "too weak" to make or sign her will and it was done for her by Stephen Bordley, "her clergyman." Governor Paca was a witness, "the brother-in-law of the testatrix."

This seal bears the intaglio head of a long-nosed, curly-bearded, bewigged gentleman, utterly impossible as an heraldic

²⁰ In this region Col. Edward Dorsey in 1664 sold to his brothers, John and Joshua, Hockley, which remained in possession of the heirs of Hon. John Dorsey. From the shore of South River and above it, the second generation of the above families settled.

After a resurvey of this region it was called *Providence*, Amos Garrett's resurvey, not to be confused with "*The Providence of Maryland*."

personage. Nor is it the impression from a ring given by Queen Henrietta Maria to the first baby called by her name. The child so honored was the daughter of Captain James Neale, a contemporary of George Calvert, and it was of course handed down in some line in Virginia; but it furnishes no clue whatever to Dorsey origins.

3. Edward Dorsey, third (who signs himself Jun^r), son of Colonel Edward, had a seal ring bequeathed to him by his father, but its fate is unknown. His will (1753), has had the most minute scrutiny and has been photostated by every known method. It has caused much controversy and the latest printed statement calls it a "mutilated, indecipherable" wax seal. This is true but, coupled with the statement is the idea that it would show Dorsey arms, if it could be deciphered. After much study I can not fully agree with this opinion.

Another observer has said it "shows no evidence of ever having received an impression," which is a very questionable conclusion. I give my own reading of the blurred fragments, although *no other* person sees the same things, because it may tend to quiet the controversy. *a.* The curved shadow of a round helmet at the upper back; two highlights as of a neckpiece front, facing left in profile: *b.* Two very rigid sections of an esquire's mantling, plainer than anything else. All edges are broken off. If there was originally a bordure this might happen the more easily. Thus the charge would appear *couped* (of which we have but one example, Attelounde) and may be described as two chevrons, or chevronels. If there was a bordure, this is the Tyrrell shield, *not couped*. Tyrrell does enter into the question of the Essex Darcies, but in very ancient times.²¹ The final fact brought out by a dozen different lightings is that the more this seal is enlarged, the less it reveals.

4. The autograph and seal of Colonel Edward Dorsey, as used in his lifetime affords several examples, although his will (1705) is not at Annapolis. Dr. Evans says the seal is too

²¹ Chancellor's *Sepulchral Monuments of Essex* has articles under both names.

blurred to be deciphered. The seal used on documents still extant is not heraldic, and few can read its rebus form. The rebus was the current fashion abroad, and appears many times in J. Watney's *St. Osyth*, for the Abbot John Vintnor. These carvings may have been a part of old Essex memories. This seal is to be found on bonds of 1676 and indubitably spells Edward Darcie. The several blazons frequently referred to as Dorsey arms have never been authenticated, although use of them is widespread.

5. Joshua Dorsey (will 1687). Here again we have symbolism, not heraldry. Its symbolism, however, is so sharply limited to this one place and example, and it is so unlike any other, that it provokes much thought. Of course E. D. are not the initials of Joshua, nor does it seem likely that they are those of his brother Edward, when the latter uses the rebus many times within a decade (1676-1687). It might be the rebus of Joshua's father. Officials of the Virginia State Library and Mrs. Bessie H. Ball of the Norfolk County Clerk's Office, agree that old time clerks made an effort to copy a man's mark as exactly as possible, when transcribing documents; frequently with curious results.

The signature of Joshua's father on the Tod deed in Virginia is so like the lettering on the ring that it is easy to think that the ring originally belonged to Edward Darcie, the immigrant. The form and shape of the letters is like those in use long before his time. Other factors in the design of the ring are not to be lightly dismissed by calling them "a tree and a coil of rope," or "a root" to the tree. The arms of the d'Arcies or Darcies of Essex, going back to the Tolleshunt branch and to Henry, Lord Mayor of London, have always been the earliest form, as quoted by Mr. R. F. d'Arcy and as delineated in Foster's *Feudal Coats of Arms* and Chancellor's *Sepulchral Monuments of Essex*. Here can be found, from several ancient tombs, the three cinquefoils alone or on shields by themselves. The crest for all these branches is described and illustrated in the Jack edition, 1905, of Fairbairn's *Crests* (1834). It is a

demi-virgin clothed in "purple," bearing in her right hand a branch of three cinquefoils²² exactly like that on the ring except that there it is slipt—*i. e.*, cut with no root. The double carrick knot, a sailor's knot, might be the Wake badge from a monk's girdle. John Sibsie of Virginia is said to have had a partner in London, an attorney, named Richard Wake, who traveled about the world somewhat, and this old Yorkshire family had descendants in Kent known to have owned property held, at another time, by Darcies. This is the sole authentic clue pointing our immigrant to an English family.

By persistent following of such threads of evidence, we may some day find the real man.

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CONCLUSION.

Those who have strong feeling aroused by the title of "Boatwright," attached to Edward Dorsey's name, should realize how essential it was to an Englishman of his day to be an acknowledged member of a Guild. Indeed, to this day it is regarded as an honor.

In early colonial times, artisans were few and hard to find, and not every man who assumed the protection of a guild could have been an artisan. We have still much to learn on this question. For example, Francis Mauldon, carpenter, making incendiary speeches against Lord Baltimore at the time of the Puritan uprising, did not represent "the lower classes," as Dr. C. M. Andrews asserts. Mauldon was the son of Grace Parker (proven by her will, 1697) and his stepfather Parker was a member of the "Hamburgh Company."²³ His second stepfather, Edward Lloyd, Grace Parker's third husband, was the leader of the Virginia-Maryland Puritans,^x

²² No other woman, virgin, or mermaid, carries anything like this branch. The Lincolnshire d'Arcy's bust of a woman crowned with roses is distinctly different.

²³ There was a firm called John Hanbury and Company about 1650, but this Parker, or his father, was a grantee of the Virginia Company in 1609, "an old sea captain of Elizabeth's time,"^x and Commander of Anne Arundel County.

Force of circumstances may have made Edward Dorsey a boatwright. He lived in an age when problems of transportation were concentrated on watercraft and were quite as vital as those of stage coaches and railroads, motor vehicles and airplanes, to later days. Probably he was not a mere "artisan," but being obliged to join some guild in order to be a citizen, he could have selected no other occupation of greater public usefulness in the new land to which he migrated.

Later in his life, he is called a Planter and in a legal document signed by his son Edward, he is given the title of Gentleman.

It can be proved likewise that he was not a Puritan. The group in Maryland that formed a part of St. Anne's Parish, were of the same faith that they had been in Virginia, when they were clustered about the Chapel-of-Ease. The assertion has been made that they became Quakers at a later time, but no proof is offered; in fact chronologically it could not have happened.

If Edward Dorsey's descendants would keep in mind the events in England during his lifetime, we could construct a better story from contexts about this Maryland group. Such novels as Margaret Irwin's, especially *The Stranger Prince*, are a valuable aid to such understanding. Known facts are few and contexts sadly needed, but only on facts can a solid superstructure be built out of whatever may be discoverable in the future.

Edward Dorsey's life was assuredly "a wand'ring to find home." Three times he tried his mettle against the unbroken wilderness. What he was or did is to be measured by the conditions he had to fight, not the least of which was the constant dread of Indians. Around the Maryland settlement lay unbroken forests where wild beasts were perhaps less frightful than wild men.

If one stands on the tract "called Dorsey"—Strawberry Hill Farm—from its lovely bluff one looks over the blue waters of Dorsey's Creek, the Severn River and Chesapeake Bay and may recall that by the will of Gates, his children were enjoined

to allow the Dorseys the privileges of "the woods and the Spring." This stands as law to the present day; none may be shut off from the only fresh water, nor from the only road available to reach the outside world.

Driving on around the base of the point on Ramsey Road and up to the first terrace in the cemetery, it is easy to picture what a scene of peace and beauty spread before the eyes of that Edward Dorsey who once stood here. Even the eleven seaplanes resting on the placid waters below are no discordant note.

Going on to the second terrace one finds the Post-Graduate School and Hospital of the Naval Academy and the golf course; one returns by another bridge over the sparkling waters of Dorsey's Creek to St. Anne's Church and its cemetery in the Annapolis of today, which again recall times long gone.

It is more difficult to travel forward from those wilderness days to the bustling present, but one reflects with satisfaction that there could be no more beautiful fruition than this modern institution devoted to youth, courage and advancement—yet not unmindful of the past.

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